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### III.—RHETORICAL ELEMENTS IN LIVY'S DIRECT SPEECHES.

#### PART II.

Following Part I of this article (A. J. P., XXXVIII 125 ff.), in which the more important Figures of Thought employed by Livy in sixty-seven of the direct speeches were examined and discussed, the same procedure will here be followed with respect to Figures of Expression, and results for the entire study will be given as to Livy's usage, passing from the earlier to the later parts of his work.

#### ANAPHORA.

This figure is frequently discussed by ancient rhetoricians, and, with its subdivisions (see below), is variously denominated.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the grace, life, and energy of style gained by its employment are recognized.<sup>2</sup> That anaphora serves well

<sup>1</sup> Phoebe. Rhet. Gr., III, 46: *ἐπαναφορά δέ ἐστίν, ἥ καὶ ἀναφορά, πλειόνων στίχων ἢ κώλων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἀρχή*. Donat. Gr. Lat., IV, 398: "Anaphora est relatio eiusdem verbi per principia versuum plurimorum"; see also Diomed. Gr. Lat., I, p. 445; Beda, RLM., 609, 10. The author of Ad Her., IV, 13, 19 uses *repetitio* as a general designation, "*repetitio est, cum continetur ab uno atque eodem uerbo in rebus similibus et diuersis principia sumuntur*." Quint., who (IX, 3, 28-34) discusses the emphasis gained by the addition or repetition of words, introduces (§ 30) an example of anaphora (Cic. In Cat., I, 2) without using the term.

<sup>2</sup> Demetr. Rhet. Gr., III, 294, 7: *χαριεντίζεται δέ ποτε καὶ ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς*. Ad Her. (I. c.): "Haec exornatio cum multum uenustatis habet tum grauitatis et acrimoniae plurimum. Quare uidetur esse adhibenda et ad ornandam et ad exaugendam orationem"; Quint., IX, 3, 28: "Illud est acrius genus [schematum], quod non tantum in ratione positum est loquendi, sed ipsis sensibus cum gratiam tum etiam vires accommodat. Ex quibus primum sit, quod fit adiectione"; Volkmann (op. cit.), p. 467: "Heftig und mit Nachdruck fangen mehrere Glieder der Rede nach einander mit denselben Worten an"; Haupt (op. cit.), p. 48: "Will der Schriftsteller irgend einen Begriff eine Beziehung oder eine bestimmte Nüance des Gedankens hervorheben, so liegt zunächst nichts näher, als eine Wiederholung des bezeichnenden Wortes." Palmer, The Use of Anaphora, etc. (Yale Diss. 1915), analyzes the means by which anaphora imparts emphasis, and concludes (p. 81) that the amplification of a general truth is one of the principal purposes served by the use of the figure.

the aims of rhetorical ornamentation is evidenced by the great frequency with which it occurs in the works of orators and writers of conscious rhetorical purpose—Demosthenes, Cicero, Tacitus, Quintilian. It is used very freely by Livy, and constitutes a conspicuous feature of the speeches,<sup>1</sup> in which, in those under review, I have counted three hundred seventy-six examples.<sup>2</sup> Some of the more noteworthy instances will here be given, with a consideration of usage by individual speakers.

Emphasis is most striking when the repeated element is made up of two words, especially if the anaphora is four- or fivefold, as in 28, 27, 12 *qui mihi ne hodie quidem scire videmini . . . quid facinoris in me, quid in patriam parentesque ac liberos*

<sup>1</sup> Moczyński (op. cit.), p. 22: "Usitatissima apud Livium est repetitionis figura, qua in orationibus potissimum vis quaedam et gravitas efficitur"; Petzke (op. cit.), p. 55: "Livius anaphoram orationibus, eisque directis, saepius immiscuit; qua re splendorem ac copiam verborum maxime videtur respexisse"; Haupt, p. 51: "In ihr [Anapher] hat sich das rhetorische Moment der Sprache am deutlichsten ausgeprägt, jener Sprache, welche auf dem Forum im lebendigen Streite der Parteien, in den grossen Staatsreden der Tribunen und Konsuln vornehmlich alle die Mittel sich ausgestalten musste, . . . . . Deshalb tritt namentlich in den Reden des Livius die Kraft dieser Anordnung recht anschaulich zu Tage"; Steele, *Anaphora and Chiasmus in Livy*, T.A.P.A., xxxii, p. 185: "Anaphora, emphasizing by repetition, is one of the most marked rhetorical features of the Speeches"; Norden, I, p. 237: "Von den Redefiguren [bei Livius] ist häufig nur die natürlichste und wirksamste, die Anapher."

<sup>2</sup> In the speeches are found a large proportion of Livy's conditional statements which form anaphora; verbs and nouns are less frequent. Many examples are cited by Steele (cf. note 1 above) in his detailed study. As by him, so here consideration is given only to verbal anaphora (repetition of the same or closely similar word in successive statements), as opposed to clausal anaphora (repetition of groups of words in parallel construction). The definition of anaphora by Ad Her. (see note 1, p. 44) is the generally accepted one prior to Nägelsbach (op. cit. p. 639), who would widen it to include "die Wiederkehr derselben Wortfolge entweder in dem nämlichen Satze oder in verschiedenen". This latter phenomenon is ordinarily called *concininitas*, which Nägelsbach (p. 642) regards as the genus of which both anaphora and chiasmus are species. Jahn (Blätt. f. Bayer. Gymn., III, p. 272 ff.) rejects this enlarged use of the term anaphora, which may properly be used only as the opposite of epiphora (repetition at the end of successive statements), whereas Nägelsbach has in mind members of clauses which correspond logically, and which at the same time are so arranged that they correspond in order.

vestros, quid in deos sacramenti testes, quid adversus auspicia, . . . quid adversus morem militiae disciplinamque maiorum, quid adversus summi imperii maiestatemque ausi sitis; 7, 40, 8 si cui genus, si cui sua virtus, si cui etiam maiestas, si cui honores subdere spiritus potuerunt; 25, 6, 18 ne qua spes, ne qua occasio abolendae ignominiae, ne qua placandae civium irae, ne qua denique bene moriendi sit; 32, 21, 13 quid ita passus est Eretriam Carystumque capi? quid ita tot Thessaliae urbes? quid ita Locridem Phocidemque? quid ita nunc Elatiam oppugnari patitur? 9, 9, 18 Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus rei satis locupletes in id, quod nostrum est, in id, quod praestare possumus, corpora nostra et animos: in haec saeviant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuunt. In most cases the anaphora, as indicative of less excitement, is two- or threefold, e. g. 40, 10, 10 pro isto Romani stant, pro isto omnes urbes tuo imperio liberatae, pro isto Macedones qui pace Romana gaudent; 45, 38, 11 tot de Gallis triumphi, tot de Hispanis, tot de Poenis? 6, 40, 13 si quis patricius, si quis Claudius diceret; 30, 14, 10 etiamsi non civis Carthaginiensis esset, etiamsi non patrem eius imperatorem hostium viderent; 3, 17, 6; 6, 40, 7; 8, 4, 3; 21, 13, 3; 21, 44, 5; 28, 41, 11; 30, 14, 10; 34, 6, 14.

Of pronouns, interrogatives (under which particles are included) are found most frequently,<sup>1</sup> with a total of fifty examples. By repetition the speaker draws attention item by item to details and contrasted phases of the subject under presentation, as in 28, 27, 12 (given above), or in 9, 1, 7 quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid diis arbitris foederis debeo? quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram? 9, 9, 16 quid enim vobiscum . . . quid cum populo Romano actum est? quis vos appellare potest, quis se a vobis dicere deceptum? 28, 29, 4 horret animus referre, quid crediderint homines, quid speraverint, quid optaverint. Notable for variety of forms is 44, 22, 8 sunt qui . . . ubi castra locanda sint sciant, quae loca praesidiis occupanda, quando aut quo saltu intranda Macedonia, ubi horrea ponenda, qua terra mari subvehantur commeatus, quando cum hoste manus conserendae,

<sup>1</sup> This result, while differing from Livy's usage as a whole (cf. Steele, p. 163, "Interrogative forms are less numerous than are relatives"), is due to the great preponderance of rhetorical questions in the direct speeches; see above Part I, p. 135 ff.

quando quiesse sit melius. In 41, 24, 17 quid introduces four complete sentences, quid hoc adversus Romana foedera est? quid rem parvam et apertam magnam et suspectam facimus? quid vanos tumultus ciemus? quid . . . suspectos alios invidiososque efficimus? Direct disjunctives are illustrated by 5, 3, 6 utrum enim defenditis an inpuignatis plebem? utrum militantium adversarii estis an causam agitis? 28, 43, 13 utrum maior aliqua nunc in Africa calamitas accepta est . . . ? an maiores nunc sunt exercitus in Africa . . . ? an aetas mea tunc maturior bello gerendo fuit . . . ? an cum Carthaginensi hoste in Hispania quam in Africa bellum geri aptius est? The use of other particles may be exemplified by the following: 34, 6, 17 cur pecunias reddimus privatis? cur publica praesenti pecunia locamus? cur servi . . . non emuntur? cur privati non damus remiges . . . ? 34, 5, 9 nonne id agmen, quo obruta haec urbs esset, matronae averterunt? nonne matronae consensu omnium [aurum] in publicum contulerunt? nonne . . . viduarum pecuniae adjuverunt aerarium? 3, 67, 10 ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit? 38, 47, 12 quotiens agri eorum vastati sint, quotiens praedae abactae, referant. Relatives and indefinites are well represented, in most cases by two-, but also by three- and fourfold anaphora, as in 44, 22, 12 ab his qui intersunt . . . qui hostem, qui temporum opportunitatem vident, qui in eodem velut navigio participes sunt periculi; 6, 41, 2; 39, 36, 13; 21, 41, 8 qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginensibus leges accepit, qui . . . stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est; 45, 24, 12 quidquid Rhodiorum virorum ac feminarum est . . . quidquid publici quidquid privati est; 38, 17, 11; 38, 47, 6; 38, 48, 4; 41, 24, 11; 45, 24, 12. Sometimes the repeated pronouns are of different cases, e. g. 10, 8, 5; 21, 40, 5; 27, 13, 3; 39, 16, 13; 40, 10, 9. The most notable examples of demonstratives are: 5, 54, 7 hic Capitolium est, . . . hic, cum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuventus Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum moveri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dii; 9, 34, 3 haec est eadem familia, . . . haec, adversus quam tribunicium auxilium vobis comparastis; haec, propter quam duo exercitus Aventinum

insedistis; haec, quae faenebres leges, haec, quae agrarias inpugnavit, haec conubia patrum et plebis interrumpit, haec plebi ad curules magistratus iter obsaepsit. Personal and possessives yield fourteen examples, of which the larger number and most emphatic are, as we should expect in the speeches, pronouns of the second person, 7, 13, 10 cupimus . . . te duce vincere, tibi lauream insignem deferre, tecum triumphantes urbem inire, tuum sequentes currum Iovis optimi maximi templum gratantes ovantesque adire; 10, 8, 9; 23, 5, 14; 38, 48, 7; 40, 15, 10. Pronouns of the first person are found 3, 67, 11 adversus nos Aventinum capitur, adversus nos occupatur mons . . . in nos viri, in nos armati estis; 28, 28, 11 quid? si ego morerer, mecum expiratura res publica, mecum casurum imperium populi Romani erat? 42, 41, 13 cum mei regni, meae dicionis essent.

Conditional particles appear thirty-seven times, their emphatic repetition enabling the speaker to enlarge on his theme by holding various facts and contingencies before his audience, as in 7, 40, 6 si meminisse vultis, non vos in Samnio nec in Volscis, . . . si illos colles, quos cernitis, patriae vestrae esse, si hunc exercitum civium vestrorum, si me consulem vestrum; 9, 9, 6 si spopondissemus urbem hanc relicturum populum Romanum si, incensurum, si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum, si sub regibus futurum. Noteworthy is 4, 5, 5, in which Canuleius states with increasing emphasis sundry conditions, the concession of which alone will induce the plebeians to accompany the consuls to war: si conubiis redditis unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis, si coalescere, si iungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus possunt, si spes, si aditus ad honores . . . datur, si in consortio, si in societate rei publicae esse, si . . . in vicem annuis magistratibus parere atque imperitare licet. Speakers find it necessary to give negative expression to their own purpose, will or policy, or to those of the opposition, hence negatives are freely used, and with nearly every part of speech. I have collected fifty-six examples, some quite extended, as non 5, 6, 17; 9, 1, 9; 28, 42, 6; 40, 10, 3; nec 9, 34, 22; 38, 49, 8 necubi notis sibi latebris delitescerent latrones Thraces, ne quid sarcinarum raperetur, ne quod iumentum ex tanto agmine abstraheretur, ne quis vulneraretur, ne ex vulnere vir fortis ac strenuus Q. Minucius moreretur; neu 25, 38, 6; nemo 4, 5, 6. Not infrequently various negatives are combined: 4, 4, 11; 5, 6, 8; 23, 9, 5; 37, 53, 18. Of other parts of speech

extended illustration is unnecessary. Adjectives total twenty-one instances, and those expressing quality are few. Note 23, 5, 10 itaque communem vos hanc cladem . . . credere, Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse; 38, 17, 7 mollia corpora, molles, ubi ira consedit, animos sol pulvis sitis . . . prosternunt; 40, 15, 4 ut indignus te patre, indignus omnibus videar. Adjectives indicating quantity are more numerous, but on the whole a relatively small group:<sup>1</sup> tantus, 45, 39, 5; multus 42, 41, 11; quot 26, 41, 10; tot 30, 30, 7. Nouns in anaphora occur only six times, 6, 41, 4; 7, 35, 3; 21, 10, 10; 34, 4, 9; 36, 7, 18; 45, 38, 7. Adverbs, mostly of time or place, seventeen times. Verbs (fifteen examples) are best illustrated in 9, 8, 9; 25, 6, 22; 40, 9, 8. Prepositions are numerous: note sine 7, 13, 6; per 30, 12, 13; post 28, 43, 14. Conjunctions, as quod, quia, cum, ut, etc., are used twenty times, while temporal dum (28, 44, 10), comparative quam (5, 51, 7), and emphatic correlatives,<sup>2</sup> as seu (6, 41, 9), aut (32, 21, 15), partim (42, 41, 2) add forty-one instances.

Subdivisions of anaphora should be considered, such as the immediate repetition<sup>3</sup> of the same word with emphasis or vehemence, 30, 14, 6 non est, non—mihi crede—tantum ab hostibus armatis aetati nostrae periculi, quantum ab circumfusus undique voluptatibus; likewise six instances in which there is a repetition of the last word, or some prominent word, at the beginning of the next sentence—frequently after intervening words and with an adjunct idea: <sup>4</sup> 21, 44, 7 et, inde si

<sup>1</sup> I have not disregarded such examples as omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare, as does Steele (l. c.) on the ground that such anaphora is dependent. For had no emphasis been intended, the writer would ordinarily have connected the nouns without repeating the common modifier, or would have inserted a conjunction, as in 21, 43, 3 maiora vincula maioresque necessitates.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted, of course, are stereotyped correlatives, as nec . . . nec, sive . . . sive, alii . . . alii, etc., where the first member requires the addition of a corresponding term.

<sup>3</sup> Technically called *παλιλλογία* (Zon. Rhet. Gr., III, 165, 24; Anon. Rhet. Gr., III, 182, 14); also *ἐπιρροή* (Herod. Rhet. Gr., III, 99, 22). Latin writers use the term *iteratio* (Aq. Rom. RLM., 31, 12) or *geminatio* (Carmen de Fig. RLM., 66, 76); cf. Quint., IX, 3, 28. This figure is frequent in Demosthenes, Cicero, and the Greek and Latin poets.

<sup>4</sup> According to Quint. (IX, 3, 29) this kind is more effective than when the repeated word follows immediately, "similis geminationis post

decessero, in Africam transcendes. transcendes autem? <sup>1</sup> transcendisse dico; 22, 59, 18 rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio captivi; sed rediere cum legatis . . . redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? 22, 60, 15 liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est; 26, 13, 11 postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit, Romam se adempturum eis, nisi omitterent Capuam, ostendit: non omiserunt; 5, 4, 10 et [bellum] perfici quam primum oportet. perficietur autem, si urgemus obsessos; 32, 21, 13 cur igitur nostrum ille auxilium absens petit potius quam praesens nos . . . tueatur? nos dico?

To sum up: the use of anaphora by individual speakers ranges from twenty-three examples by Demetrius (125 lines) to none by Decius Mus (53), Minucius (45), or the Saguntine embassy (55). It appears most frequently in speeches which show emphasis by vigorous amplification, and least frequently in those of simple progressive statement. Relative usage may be seen from the following: one example in every five and one-half lines (Demetrius); in seven (Torquatus); in eight (Postumius); in nine (Camillus, Hannibal, 21, 23-24, Sempronius, Scipio, 28, 27-29); in ten (Appius Claudius Crassus, Manlius, Perseus).

#### CHIASMUS.

Various collections showing Livy's use of this common figure <sup>2</sup> have already been made,<sup>3</sup> but none with special refer-

aliquam interiectionem repetitio est, sed paulo etiam vehementior". It is defined by Ad Her. (IV, 28, 38) as *conduplicatio*, whose forcefulness is thus described: "Vehementer auditorem commouet eiusdem redintegratio uerbi et uulnus maius efficit in contrario causae, quasi aliquod telum saepius perueniat in eandem partem corporis." More frequently used is the term *ἀναδίπλωσις* (Zon. Rhet. Gr., III, 165, 29), or *ἐπανάληψις* (Phoeb. Rhet. Gr., III, 46, 29; Lupus, RLM., 8, 1).

<sup>1</sup> When the repetition, as here, is explanatory or corrective, it is called *ἐπιδιόρθωσις* (Tib. Rhet. Gr., III, 62, 17), *ἐπιτίμησις* (Alex. Rhet. Gr., III, 40, 21), *correctio* (Carmen de Fig. RLM., 69, 151).

<sup>2</sup> Grammatical chiasmus only, a reversal of the order of corresponding pairs, is here considered. For chiasmus used in logical expression of thought, cf. Nägelsbach (p. 634), and for definitions and illustrations of each type from the rhetoricians, see Steele, Chiasmus in Sallust, etc., J.H.U. Diss., 1891, p. 3 ff. See also Volkmann, p. 488.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Steele (T.A.P.A., xxxii, pp. 166-185); Kühnast, p. 326 f.; Moczyński, p. 25. Haupt (pp. 56-84) discusses a few cases illustrating the figure both in the simple sentence and in extended periods.



ence to the speeches. In those examined I have noted numerous instances not elsewhere cited, especially examples in which, although the construction of corresponding pairs is not strictly parallel, the emphasis is quite obvious as in 5, 4, 7 *an ut aecum censes militia semenstri solidum te stipendium accipere?* 7, 13, 6 *priusquam expertus nos esses, de nobis ita desperasti*; 40, 10, 9 *qui tuam senectutem obligatam et obnoxiam adolescentiae suae esse aequum censet*.

The general emphasis gained by chiasmus arises from juxtaposing, or separating terms, and so contrasting them by a reversal of the normal arrangement. The pairs most frequently so treated by Livy's speakers are made up of nouns with verbs. Note three pairs in 3, 68, 2 *visite agros . . . vastatos, praedam abigi, fumare incensa passim tecta*; 5, 6, 2; 26, 41, 15; 37, 53, 13 *rex Asiae . . . filiam suam in matrimonium mihi dabat; restituebat extemplo civitates, . . . spem magnam in posterum . . . faciebat*; 39, 36, 13 *qui . . . multitudinem exciverant, qui expugnauerant maritima oppida, . . . caedem principum fecerant*; 44, 38, 9 *longo itinere fatigatum et onere fessum, madentem sudore*; 45, 22, 6 *Athenae oppugnatae et Graecia in servitutem petita et adiutus Hannibal pecunia*. Two pairs are far more common (sixty-five examples). Illustrations are: 6, 18, 7 *ostendite modo bellum: pacem habebitis*; 22, 59, 6 *tunc demum pacti sumus pretium, . . . arma . . . hosti tradidimus*; 5, 6, 4 *tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore*; 34, 6, 17 *aut decrevit senatus aut populus iussit*; 40, 10, 1 *exsecrare nunc cupiditatem regni, et furias fraternas concita*; 26, 41, 21; 45, 22, 11 *socios iuvare et . . . capessere bella*. Adjectives, adverbs, participles, and prepositional phrases are occasionally combined with verbs, as in 22, 39, 1 *si aut collegam, . . . tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis*; 37, 53, 7 *in aliis rebus cecisisse intra finem iuris mei cuilibet videri malim, quam nimis pertinaciter in obtinendo eo tetendisse*; 4, 3, 6 *cur . . . negent se manibus temperaturos violaturosque denuntient?* 45, 23, 3 *causam fortasse diceremus apud victorem, quem ad modum apud vos dicimus*.

Livy's speakers use chiasmus frequently with emphatic contrast of pronouns, particularly personal and possessive, of the first and second person. See 3, 67, 10 *victi nos aequiore animo*

quiescimus quam vos victores; 4, 4, 12; 4, 5, 2; 5, 54, 3 etsi minus iniuriae vestrae quam meae calamitatis meminisse iuvat; 6, 40, 8; 23, 9, 8; 28, 29, 3; 30, 30, 8; 30, 30, 18; 45, 23, 16. Observe the striking order in 7, 30, 23 proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis . . . aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite. Noteworthy is 7, 40, 10 with pronouns in the means as also in the extremes, ergo vos prius in me strinxeritis ferrum quam in vos ego; also 23, 5, 7, in which there is emphatic contrast of three pairs, but without corresponding construction in any: itaque non iuvetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed paene bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. The reverse order, in which pronouns are separated while members of other pairs are juxtaposed, may be seen in 10, 8, 4 non ut vos, Appi, vestro loco pellant, sed ut adiuvent vos homines plebei; 26, 41, 21 nam et [illi] deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis nos; 40, 10, 9 quoted above. Pronouns are used in chiasmus with nouns, as in 6, 40, 11 uti L. Sextium illum atque hunc Gaium Licinium consules, . . . videas? 22, 29, 6 palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum; 22, 39, 8 belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro; 28, 41, 4 nisi . . . aut illud bellum huic, aut victoria illa, etc. Occasionally the possessive is found opposed to the genitive of the noun, e. g. in 7, 13, 5 deum benignitate, felicitate tua populique Romani; 45, 23, 1 deum benignitate et virtute vestra; closely related to these are the following: 28, 42, 20 quam compar consilium tuum parentis tui consilio sit, reputa; 3, 68, 5 non vestra virtute . . . sed auxilio alieno.

Nouns are well represented; note three pairs in 23, 5, 11 Poenus hostis . . . ab ultimis terrarum oris, freto Oceani Herculisque columnis; 39, 16, 8; 41, 24, 8; three pairs made up of nouns and adjectives: 44, 38, 9 cited above; 44, 39, 1. Two pairs are frequent, as in 3, 67, 6 discordia ordinum . . . patrum ac plebis certamina; 5, 52, 9; 8, 4, 4; 9, 9, 6; 9, 11, 5; 28, 27, 5; 28, 43, 5; 28, 43, 12; 28, 43, 18; 28, 48, 2; 30, 31, 2; 38, 48, 7; 39, 16, 1; 41, 23, 12; 41, 24, 3. Nouns with prepositional phrases are found in 37, 54, 26 et aliae [civitates] prius cum Philippo, et cum Pyrrho Tarentini.

Adverbs arranged chiastically are rare: 21, 44, 4 ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes;

34, 2, 7; 36, 17, 13 a Philippo ante nunc ab Aetolis; 39, 37, 15 parum est victis, quod victoribus satis est. Only the following clauses were found, a relatively small group: 5, 54, 3; 27, 13, 5 omitto ea, quibus gloriari potestis; cuius et ipsius pudere ac paenitere vos oportet, referam; 28, 29, 4; 30, 30, 21; 32, 21, 5; 34, 4, 16; 39, 36, 13 f.

The total number of examples under review is 166. No specific statement as to desirable frequency is available, but considering the number and extent of the speeches examined we may conclude that Livy here kept in mind rhetorical precept (cf. Quint., IX, 3, 100)—that figures to be embellishments must be used judiciously and in moderation. Individual speakers showing greatest relative frequency in usage are: Calavius, Capitolinus, P. Scipio (26, 41), Hannibal (30, 30), Q. Fabius (22, 39), Camillus, Astymedes.

#### PARONOMASIA.

This figure belongs to a general class, which, by some resemblance, opposition or equality, appeals to the ear and attention of the hearer.<sup>1</sup> In paronomasia the same or related word, or a word similar in sound, is purposely used in a different sense or construction, to give an antithetical force to the sentence.

<sup>1</sup> See Quint., IX, 3, 66; Schem. Dian. RLM., 75, 12. The term *παρονομασία*, not used by Aristotle, is met frequently in the Rhet. Gr. (see Spengel's index). In Latin it is denominatio (Schem. Dian., l. c.), adnominatio, or adfectio; see Rufin. RLM., 51, 23; Ad Her., IV, 21-22. Quint. (l. c.) confines the figure principally to a repetition of words with change in case or tense, or to instances in which the same word is repeated with changed or added meaning. Word plays, where the point consists in conscious changes in sound, quantity of vowels, prepositional compounds, etc., frequent in Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and Seneca Rhetor, are quite rare in Livy. Kühnast (p. 330) treats under iteratio and limits the figure to an arrangement of words derived from the same stem and similar in form. Repetition with change, even in Livy, is of wide application, frequently the same word being repeated with variation only in case or tense. Unless emphasis is clearly intentional all such occurrences are here neglected, since they must be regarded as accidental, unavoidable without artificiality, or at least in harmony with a principle common to all languages—the disposition to continue and enlarge an idea by some form of repetition. For a more detailed treatment of paronomasia, see I. M. Casanowicz, Paronomasia in the Old Testament, Boston, 1894 (J. H. U. Diss.).

It is relatively infrequent in the historians.<sup>1</sup> To examples from Livy already collected,<sup>2</sup> many additions are here made, with omission of such as are involved in anaphora and in the use of correlatives.

Words of the same stem are repeated in 3, 68, 8 *sedemus* *desides domi*; 4, 4, 11 *nec eodem itinere eat*; 5, 4, 1 *de ipsa condicione dicere*; 5, 5, 2 *agrum non coluit, et culta evastata sunt bello*; 5, 6, 10 *inexpugnabiles [urbes] . . . tempus ipsum vincit atque expugnat, sicut Veios expugnabit*; 5, 54, 7 *ubi quondam capite humano invento responsum est eo loco caput rerum . . . fore*; 9, 9, 15 *ut, . . . et nostrum exercitum eadem, quae impedierat, fortuna expediret, vanam victoriam vanior inritam faceret pax*; 21, 43, 14 *cum exercitu tirone, . . . ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem*; 21, 43, 18 *adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque*; 22, 39, 5 *adversus Hannibalem . . . pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux . . . te sit oppugnaturus*; 25, 38, 5 *me . . . curis insomniisque agitant et excitant saepe somno*; 29, 17, 2 *magis indignemini bonis ac fidelibus sociis tam indignas iniurias . . . fieri*; 30, 12, 18 *amore captivae victor captus*; 34, 5, 1; 37, 53, 7 *in obtinendo eo tetendisse*; 37, 54, 6 *ut nos liberi etiam aliorum libertatis causam agamus*; 38, 17, 13 *est generosius, in sua quidquid sede gignitur; insitum alienae terrae . . . degenerat*; 38, 49, 8 *necubi notis sibi latebris delitescerent latrones*; 40, 8, 16 *neque vos . . . eventus deterreere a vecordi discordia potuit*; 41, 24, 15; 42, 42, 8. In two cases we have emphatic change of prepositional compound: 31, 29, 15 *eiusdem linguae homines . . . causae diiungunt coniunguntque*; 40, 12, 6 *quae obest potius quam prodest*.

More frequently the same word is used, but as involving an emphatic change in some particular, e. g. in construction: 6, 18, 8 *ego quidem nulli vestrum deero: ne fortuna mea desit*; 6, 18, 13 *experimini modo et vestram felicitatem et me . . . feliciter expertum: minore negotio qui imperet patribus imponetis, quam qui resisterent imperantibus imposuistis*; 9, 4, 9; 9, 4, 14; 21, 40, 11 *decuit . . . deos . . . committere ac profligare bellum, nos . . . commissum ac profligatum conficere*; 25, 38, 15 *ne*

<sup>1</sup> Draeger, *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus* (3 ed.), p. 110; Lupus, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Cornelius Nepos*, Berlin, 1876, p. 199.

Petzke, p. 72 f.; Moczyński, p. 22.

. . . ipsi oppugnati castra sua ultro oppugnemus. audeamus, quod credi non potest ausuros nos; 26, 41, 9; 27, 13, 3 quos vincendo et victos sequendo; 28, 39, 2 bellum propter nos suscepistis, susceptum . . . geritis; 28, 40, 14 vincere ego prohibui Hannibalem, ut a vobis . . . vinci posset; 36, 7, 14; 37, 54, 18 nec terra mutata mutavit genus; 40, 9, 15 si deprehensos . . . ad te deducerem, rem pro manifesto haberes: fatentes pro deprehensis habe. Change in case: 6, 40, 18 parum est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis, nisi partem petendo totum traxeris? 8, 4, 8; 9, 9, 11; 9, 34, 1; 10, 8, 5 cuius tam dictatoris magister equitum quam magistri equitum dictator esse potes; 21, 10, 4 si ex bellis bella serendo; 21, 40, 4; 22, 39, 1; 28, 28, 15; 31, 29, 16 hoc eodem loco iidem homines de eiusdem Philippi pace . . . iisdem improbantibus eam pacem Romanis; 32, 21, 29; 38, 17, 8; 39, 37, 9; 40, 13, 3. Change in tense: 23, 9, 8 valeant preces apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie valuerunt; 30, 31, 5 ius fasque dederunt et . . . dant et dabunt; 34, 4, 16; 40, 9, 14 possunt quidem omnia audere qui hoc ausi sunt.

The simplest form of paronomasia is the so-called *σχημα ἐτυμολογικόν*, involving repetition of the same or a kindred stem in dependent relation.<sup>1</sup> It is rare in classic Latin authors with the exception of a few formal expressions maintained through all periods, but more frequent in Sallust and Livy.<sup>2</sup> I have noted the following in Livy's speeches: 7, 30, 20 adnuite . . . numen; 9, 9, 13 sponsio . . . quam populi iussu spopondissemus; 9, 11, 7 pacem . . . pepigistis; 9, 11, 9; 31, 29, 16; 38, 48, 10; 38, 48, 11; 28, 40, 3 scio . . . rem actam hodierno die agi; 28, 43, 10 occidione occisi; 36, 17, 13 liberatam [Graeciam] liberare; 37, 54, 19 certare pio certamine.

To be considered also under paronomasia is alliteration, which differs from figura etymologica in that the former has to do

<sup>1</sup> Diomed. Gr. Lat., I, p. 446: "cum praecedenti nomini aut verbum aut nomen adnectitur ex eodem figuratu"; Rufin. RLM., 57, 30. A comprehensive study for Latin has been made by Landgraf (Acta Sem. Erlang., II, 1-69), who defines (p. 8): "est igitur figura etymologica compositio duorum congenerum vocabulorum, quae item grammaticae legibus arctissime inter se conexas unam eamque amplificatam atque disertissimam notionem efficiunt".

<sup>2</sup> Wölfflin, A. L. L., VI, p. 448; Landgraf, op. cit., p. 4: Draeger, Synt. und Stil, etc., p. 22.

with a combination of words not generically related or grammatically dependent.<sup>1</sup> It is used with great frequency by Roman archaic writers,<sup>2</sup> and while many cases of intentional alliteration<sup>3</sup> are found in the great prose writers, it cannot be called a striking stylistic feature of any except Nepos,<sup>4</sup> Sallust,<sup>5</sup> Cicero,<sup>6</sup> and Tacitus.<sup>7</sup> No study has as yet been made of usage in Livy's speeches, in which occurrences in the restricted sense<sup>8</sup> are fairly frequent, e. g. 3, 67, 5 fusi fugatique; 3, 68, 13; 28, 43, 14; 28, 28, 9 fudi fugavi; 32, 21, 19; 38, 17, 15; 21, 44, 2 fidelissimos fortissimosque; 37, 54, 28 forti fidelique; 22, 60

<sup>1</sup> Landgraf, op. cit., p. 3: "cuius [alliterationis] natura haec est, ut duo vel plura deinceps vocabula quae tamen nullis grammaticae legibus inter se coniunguntur, ab iisdem litteris aut syllabis initium capiant". The term alliteration is used first by the Italian humanist Pontanus (1426-1503); see Norden, I, p. 59 note. However, the Romans were fully conscious that they used this rhetorical device; cf. Ad Her., IV, 12, 18 ("eiusdem litterae nimiam adsiduitatem"); Servius (on Aen., III, 183). Donat. (on Ter. Eun., 780) and Char. (Gr. Lat., I, p. 282) call the figure *παρόμοιον*. The Greek name is *ῥυμῶν* according to a Scholium of Maximus. Planudes on Hermogenes (Rh. Gr. V 511, 6 Walz). The phenomenon in popular language and in religious and legal usage precedes any regular literature (see Tracy Peck, Alliteration in Latin, T.A.P.A., XV, pp. 58-65). Wölfflin (Zur Alliteration, Mélanges Boissier, Paris, 1903, p. 461 ff.) concludes that the Greeks did not recognize alliteration in the Latin sense.

<sup>2</sup> Wölfflin (Zur Alliteration, A.L.L., IX, p. 573); Peck (l. c.).

<sup>3</sup> Frequency depends, of course, on the conception of the figure. Some regard it as the recurrence of the same or initial letter (or its phonetic equivalent) in two or more contiguous words, whatever their relation; see citations by Lahmeyer, Die Allit. in Ciceros Pompeiana, Progr., Görlitz, 1891, pp. 1-14, and definition p. 3. So in this wide sense examples by Petzke, pp. 75-77; Drenckhahn, Lat. Stilistik, Berlin, 1896, p. 84; Wichert, Lat. Stillehre, Königsberg, 1856, pp. 420, 430, 512. Such a principle makes no distinction between accidental and intentional alliteration, nor between the avoidable and practically unavoidable juxtaposition of alliterative words. In the sense used in Wölfflin's comprehensive and authoritative study (Die allit. Verbind., München, 1881, p. 7) restriction is made to combinations of similar elements, or to members which are syntactically coordinate.

<sup>4</sup> See Pretzsch, Zur Stilistik des Corn. Nepos, Progr., Spandau, 1890; Lupus, op. cit., p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Gerstenberg, Ueber die Reden bei Sallust, Progr., Berlin, 1892, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Especially in his earlier works; see Laurand, Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron, p. 113; Bossier (l. c.).

<sup>7</sup> Gudeman, Dialogus de Orat., Boston, 1894, p. xlvi; Petzke, p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> See note 3 above.

20 fortia fidelia ; 5, 51, 10 foedus ac fidem fefellerunt ; 5, 52, 1 culpa cladisque ; 7, 30, 20, nutum numenque ; 7, 30, 23 lucem ac libertatem ; 31, 29, 4 licentiam an levitatem ; 39, 15, 1 ludum et lasciviam ; 7, 35, 6 videntem ac vigilantem ; 21, 41, 17 vis virtusque ; 25, 38, 10 ; 22, 39, 19 vanam . . . veram ; 41, 23, 17 ; 9, 34, 12 stolidos ac socordes ; 10, 8, 12 faustum felixque ; 21, 10, 11 furiam facemque ; 21, 41, 10 indignatione atque ira ; 22, 14, 8 oculos atque ora ; 44, 38, 9 ore atque oculis ; 22, 14, 14 audendo atque agendo ; 22, 39, 20 ; 22, 39, 10 sede ac solo ; 22, 39, 14 fame quam ferro ; 22, 39, 22 clara certaue ; 22, 39, 20 timidum pro cauto tardum pro considerato ; 22, 59, 16 suspensi ac solliciti ; 25, 38, 8 vivunt vigentque ; 26, 13, 14 cruciatus contumeliasque ; 26, 41, 12 integra atque immobilis ; 26, 41, 18 auguriis auspiciisque ; 27, 13, 5 pudere ac paenitere ; 28, 27, 8 tacta tractataue ; 28, 28, 10 amolior et amoveo ; 28, 29, 7 satis superque ; 30, 12, 16 oro obtestorque ; 32, 21, 17 terrore ac tumultu ; 34, 3, 5 destruet ac demolietur ; 39, 16, 10 demolientes dissentientes ; 34, 7, 9 gaudent et gloriantur ; 34, 7, 14 seditionem et secessionem ; 36, 17, 12 provisum atque praecautum ; 36, 7, 6 prius potiusque ; 38, 49, 11 ceciderunt ceperunt ; 39, 16, 5 flagitium et facinus ; 39, 37, 7 corpus et concilium ; 39, 37, 16 sancta atque sacrata ; 40, 13, 7 certamine et concursu ; 44, 22, 11 superbum . . . sapientem ; 45, 23, 10 superbia . . . . . stultitia ; 44, 22, 12 prudentibus et peritis ; 45, 39, 16 maledice ac maligne. In 38, 17, 5, insolita atque insueta, there is the emphasis of a double alliteration (prep. and stem). Effective also in their appeal to the ear are combinations whose members begin with the same preposition (neglected by Wölfflin), as 3, 68, 4 reddent ac restituent ; 5, 5, 7 intermissiones . . . intervallaue ; 25, 38, 15 obsessi . . . atque oppugnati ; 26, 41, 7 transeamus transferamusque ; 39, 16, 8 conquirerent comburerent ; 40, 8, 7 conficti aut commissi ; 37, 53, 27 decedere et deducere ; 38, 48, 3 indixit aut intulit ; 40, 10, 9 obligatam obnoxiam ; 40, 11, 3 imbuti et infecti. Repetition of a negative compound is generally not an artistic device, as this method of expressing the lack of two qualities is natural, and, sometimes, unavoidable. The following seem to be used for emphasis : 9, 4, 12 inbellis atque inermis ; 44, 38, 10 iners atque imbellis ; 38, 47, 10 infamia atque invidia ; 40, 11, 9 incertae . . . inanes.

Finally, of alliteration in the wider sense may be noted a few striking examples, in which, had no emphasis been felt, we

may assume changes in order and phraseology would have been made: 3, 67, 7 tribunos . . . concupistis: concordiae causa concessimus. decemviros desiderastis, etc.; 3, 68, 1 ubi hic curiam circumsederitis et forum infestum feceritis et carcerem impleveritis principibus; 6, 18, 14 proinde adeste, prohibete ius . . . dici. ego me patronum profiteor plebis; 9, 9, 11 et illi male partam victoriam male perdiderunt; 9, 11, 8 hoc fide . . . foederibus . . . fetialibus caerimoniis dignum erat; 9, 11, 9 quod petisti per pactionem; 21, 40, 2 hunc hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen . . . habui; 28, 29, 1 revocavit tamen a publico parricidio privata pietas; 30, 31, 9 bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuistis; 34, 2, 4 si coetus et concilia et secretas consultationes esse sinas; 34, 4, 13 pessimus quidem pudor est vel parsimoniae vel paupertatis; 39, 16, 1 si . . . a facinoribus manus, mentem a fraudibus abstinuissent; 40, 11, 2 clandestina concocta sunt consilia.

Livy uses paronomasia to make certain groups of words especially prominent and effective, and uses it more freely with speakers of circumspection and experience. Hence Q. Fabius in his speech of caution to Paulus uses eleven examples; Scipio, 21, 40-41, five, 28, 27-29, six, Manlius, five.

#### ASYNDETON.

This figure, a favorite with orators,<sup>1</sup> is aptly used to impart vivacity, energy, vehemence.<sup>2</sup> In Livy<sup>3</sup> it occurs very fre-

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle (Rhet. III, 12, 2 f.) says it is well suited to practical eloquence (*λέξις ἀγωνιστική*), ill suited to written style (*λέξις γραφική*), because when unsupported by delivery the *ἀσύνδετα* fail in the proper effect, i. e. intonation must come into play to prevent their being felt as all one, of the same character and accent. Further, by their use many things appear to be said at the same time, on the principle that connecting particles unite several items into one, whereas by the omission of connections one becomes many. Hence *ἀσύνδετα* amplify, since the auditor seems to survey a number of items given. So Quint. (IX, 3, 50): "nam et singula inculcantur et quasi plura fiunt." Latin terms are: articulus (Ad Her., IV, 19, 26) of the omission of conjunctions between single words, dissolutum (IV, 30, 41) of the same between clauses; solutum (Aq. Rom. RLM., 35, 9; Capella, RLM., 482, 19); dissolutio (Quint., l. c.); dissolutio vel inconexio (Rufin. RLM., 53, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Quint. (l. c.); Tib. Rhet. Gr., III, 77, 27; Ad Her., IV, 30, 41: "Hoc genus [dissolutum] et acrimoniam habet in se et uehementis-



quently and in every variety. I have counted 546 examples in the speeches, excluding those involving anaphora, and limiting them to members of a single period.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest form is the so-called asyndeton sollemne in stereotyped formulae.<sup>2</sup> Omitting 44 examples of the official combination, *patres conscripti*, and 6 of *optimus maximus*, both in use from the earliest period, Livy has few instances. Note 5, 5, 6 *novus de integro*; 22, 60, 20 *fortia fidelia*; 28, 39, 8 *ex insperato repente*; 39, 15, 11 *forte temere*; 44, 28, 8 *terra mari*; note also, in legal process, 9, 4, 16 *ite, consules, redimite*; 9, 11, 13 *i, lictor, deme*.

Asyndeton enumerativum is by far the largest class. Of individual words, nouns may be illustrated, by seven members in 26, 13, 13 *Roma, coniuges, liberi, arae, foci, delubra, sepulcra*; by six, 30, 14, 9 *ipse, coniunx, regnum, ager, oppida, homines*; by five, 5, 54, 4 *locum, colles, flumen, mare, locum*; 9, 9, 6; 38, 17, 3; by four, 3, 67, 9 *auxilium, provocationem, scita plebis, iura*; 22, 39, 11 *armis viris equis commeatibus*; 26, 13, 18; 28, 27, 4; 28, 43, 12; 34, 3, 7; 40, 10, 7; 41, 23, 10; 44, 22, 13; 44, 39, 1; by three, 3, 68, 5 *odia offensiones simultates*; 3, 68, 11; 4, 4, 3; 4, 4, 4; 5, 5, 11; 6, 41, 9; 7, 30, 19; 9, 9, 8; 22, 59, 15; 28, 42, 12; 28, 44, 5; 29, 17, 15; 29, 17, 18; 32, 21, 21; 34, 2, 11; 34, 7, 11; 38, 17, 7; 38, 17, 17; 38, 45, 10; 39, 16, 7; 39, 16, 8; 40, 13, 3; 40, 13, 4; 45, 23, 5; 45, 39, 5; by two, 3, 68, 4 *re fortuna*; 4, 3, 12; 4, 4, 2, etc. Proper names also are used effectively, as in 28, 28, 12 *Flaminio, Paulo, Graccho, Postumio Albino, M. Marcello, T. Quintio Crispino, Cn. Fulvio, Scipioni-*

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*simum est et ad breuitatem adcommodatum.*" See also Longinus, *Περὶ Τύπου*, XX.

<sup>1</sup> The most important collections are given by Kühnast, p. 284 ff., and Draeger, *Hist. Synt.*, II, pp. 190-212. See also Moczyński, pp. 22-23; M. Müller, *Sprachgebrauch des Livius*, Progr., Stendal, 1866, p. 3 ff.; Preuss, *De bimembris dissoluti apud scriptores. Rom. usu sollemni*, Edenkoben, 1881, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Following Nägelsbach (p. 656 note): "wir verstehen unter den Gliedern lediglich die der Struktur und grammatischen Geltung nach gleichartigen Satz- oder Periodenteile."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Preuss, *op. cit.*, p. 7: "paulatim in vulgi consuetudinem ac proverbium eaque *δουδέρως* posita venerunt, ita ut procedente tempore prorsus vel certe plus minusve neglecta esse videatur coniunctio, quasi omnino non pertineat ad tales locutiones."

bus meis, tot tam praeclaris imperatoribus uno bello absumptis; 30, 30, 25 Sicilia, Sardinia, Hispania, quidquid insularum, etc. Notable is the case of Scipio, 26, 41, 10 f., recalling Roman victories following Roman defeats: vetera omitto, Porsinam, Gallos, Samnites . . . Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae . . . adde defectionem Italiae, Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae. Three names are found: 3, 17, 3; 4, 3, 16; 31, 29, 10; 31, 29, 15; 37, 53, 24; 38, 17, 11; 38, 46, 4; 45, 24, 9; two names: 9, 8, 8; 26, 41, 15; 26, 41, 16; 28, 28, 6; 28, 28, 15; 28, 41, 13; 38, 17, 8; 40, 8, 15 (two pairs); 45, 22, 11; 45, 39, 2; 45, 39, 7. Adjectives in asyndeton are infrequent. Only the following were found: 22, 39, 12 meliores prudentiores constantiores; 40, 12, 6 circumventum solum inopem; 45, 39, 5 aurea marmorea eburnea; 9, 34, 18 antiquior . . . sancta; 22, 60, 30 quoted above; 37, 53, 21 extorris expulsus; 44, 38, 8 requietum, integrum; 5, 4, 5 tot tam; 26, 13, 17; 28, 28, 42. Verbs are not numerous but there are some striking examples, as in 29, 17, 15 omnes rapiunt, spoliant, verberant, vulnerant, occidunt, constuprant matronas, virgines, ingenuos raptos ex complexu parentum; 38, 48, 4 regna augetis donatis adimitis, curae vestrae censetis esse; 5, 5, 8 irati sunt, oderunt, negant misuros; 9, 8, 7 scribere armare educere; 28, 28, 9 fudi, fugavi, Hispania expuli; 38, 46, 6 caesi, fugati, exuti impedimentis sumus; 40, 11, 8 Romani laetabuntur, probabunt, defendent factum. Clauses and phrases in enumerative asyndeton, usually of two members, but extending to five (25, 6, 20; 9, 11, 4) and even to seven (5, 4, 13), are far too numerous for citation. However, a few instances will be given of asyndeton showing a quick succession of acts in a description<sup>1</sup> and intended to convey the idea of haste, speed, decision, etc., as 9, 1, 5 res hostium in praeda captas, . . . remisimus; auctores belli, . . . dedimus; bona eorum, . . . Romam portavimus; 21, 41, 11 veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus; 28, 27, 15 in praetorio tetenderunt Albius et Atrius, classicum apud eos cecinit, signum ab iis petatum est, sederunt in tribunali P. Scipionis, lictor apparuit, summoto incesserunt, fasces cum

<sup>1</sup> Called by Nägelsbach (p. 746) "Das ächte Asyndeton"; by Draeger (Hist. Synt., II, p. 209) "Das beschleunigende Asyndeton."

securibus praelati sunt; see also 28, 42, 3; 34, 6, 11 f.; 42, 13, 6 f.

Variety in enumerations is obtained where asyndeton is followed by coordinating particles: 3, 17, 5 consules tribunos deos hominesque; 6, 41, 9 tradamus ancilia penetralia deos deorumque curam; 7, 30, 23 salutem victoriam lucem ac libertatem; 26, 41, 14 secunda, prospera, in dies laetiora ac meliora; 28, 42, 11 moenia patriae, templa deum, aras et focos; 39, 15, 9 fanatici vigiliis, vino, strepitibus clamoribusque nocturnis attoniti. Occasionally the asyndeton is broken within the series by the connecting of two elements which are naturally associated, as in 23, 5, 6 legiones equitatus arma signa equi virique pecunia commeatus. The best example of asyndeton and particles used together is 21, 40, 9 effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore inluvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Less frequently asyndeton is preceded by connectives, e. g. 28, 44, 15 terror fugaque, populatio agrorum, defectio sociorum, ceterae belli clades; 40, 8, 11 se stirpemque suam, domos, regna. For variety asyndeton and polysyndeton are occasionally united in the same sentence: 3, 67, 5 castris exuti, agro multati, sub iugum missi, et se et vos novere; 7, 13, 5 nobis deum benignitate, felicitate tua populique Romani et res et gloria est integra; 10, 7, 9 sellis curulibus, toga praetexta, tunica palmata et toga picta et corona triumphali laureaue.

Asyndeton adversativum<sup>1</sup> is found everywhere in the speeches, hence few illustrations will be given: 4, 5, 4 animos vestros illi temptabunt semper, vires non experientur; 9, 4, 14 quas [spes opesque] servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus; 28, 27, 4 corpora, ora, vestitum, habitum civium adgnosco; facta, dicta, consilia, animos hostium video; 45, 39, 16 non enim de bello deliberatis, . . . , quod inferre potestis, gerere non potestis. Explanatory asyndeton (asynd. explicativum), in which the two members stand in a kind of apposition, is much less frequent. The second member may give not only an explanation or reason, but an infer-

<sup>1</sup> Draeger, *Hist. Synt.*, II, p. 202; *Synt. und Stil*, p. 56; Nägelsbach, p. 738; Kühnast, p. 287.

ence, or a logical conclusion. See 3, 68, 3 *at enim communis res per haec loco est peiore: ager uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penes hostis est*; 5, 51, 8; 5, 52, 8; 7, 30, 9; 7, 35, 4; 7, 40, 10; 9, 9, 10; 21, 43, 4; 22, 39, 9; 29, 18, 13; 29, 18, 16; 34, 2, 7; 34, 4, 8; 38, 17, 7; 38, 46, 11; 39, 15, 7; 40, 11, 9; 45, 23, 11; 45, 23, 14; 45, 24, 9; 4, 4, 8 *nemo plebeius patriciae virgini vim adferret: patriciorum ista lubido est*; 9, 34, 21; 21, 43, 11; 21, 44, 9; 22, 39, 9; 25, 6, 16; 26, 13, 14; 27, 13, 2; 28, 27, 8; 28, 42, 7; 29, 18, 10; 31, 29, 14; 34, 5, 12; 38, 17, 18; 39, 46, 1; 40, 10, 5; 40, 11, 8; 42, 42, 6; 42, 42, 9; 5, 4, 7 *annua aera habes, annuam operam ede*; 6, 18, 8 *ego quidem nulli vestrum deero: ne fortuna mea desit, videte*; 7, 40, 2; 9, 9, 18; 10, 8, 6; 22, 60, 20; 25, 6, 21; 26, 13, 16; 28, 29, 4; 28, 41, 9; 28, 42, 1; 28, 42, 17; 29, 18, 19; 32, 21, 29; 40, 9, 15; 40, 15, 8. Included here also are some forty instances of parenthesis, explanatory in purpose and frequently taking the place of a subordinate clause, e. g. in 4, 4, 1 *nullane res nova institui debet, et, quod nondum est factum—multa enim nondum sunt facta in novo populo—ea, ne si utilia quidem sunt, fieri oportet?* *Asyndeton summativum*,<sup>1</sup> which gives the result of a series, "in short," is well illustrated by 28, 42, 6 *ubi non portus ullus classi nostrae apertus, non ager pacatus, non civitas socia, non rex amicus, non consistendi usquam locus, non procedendi; quacumque circumspexeris, hostilia omnia atque infesta*; see also such examples as 6, 41, 10; 9, 34, 22; 26, 13, 13; 38, 17, 5; 45, 39, 3 *et vos Gentium quam Persea duci in triumpho mavultis, Quirites, et de accessione potius belli quam de bello triumphari?* *et legiones ex Illyrico laureatae urbem inibunt et navales socii: Macedonicae legiones suo abrogato triumphos alienos spectabunt?*

To summarize: asyndeton is to be found in practically every speech, but as indicative of rapid, forceful presentation, of vehemence which sets order aside, it is used relatively most

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nägelsbach (p. 740); Kühnast, p. 284: "Das abschliessende As. (nicht glücklich summativum von Nägelsbach genannt)"; Draeger, *Hist. Synt.*, II, p. 206: "Das Asynd. summ. besteht theils aus einzelnen Wörtern, die eine Reihe von Begriffen zusammenfassen, gleichsam summiren, theils aus einem ganzen Satze, durch welchen das Ergebniss einer Gedankenreihe kurz angegeben wird." All Livy's examples noted are of clauses.

often by Cn. Manlius, Scipio, Q. Fabius, Capitolinus, and Astymedes.

#### POLYSYNDETON.

This figure is like asyndeton in that each is a *coacervatio*, but unlike it in that conjunctions are present.<sup>1</sup> It is employed freely in the speeches, and with but little variety, *et* being found most often, whether connecting words, or phrases, or clauses. Two members are usual, but occasionally more are found, as 37, 54, 11 *nam et Lycaonia et Phrygia utraque et Pisidia omnis et Chersonesus*; 21, 41, 2 *ubi et fratrem . . . socium haberem et Hasdrubalem . . . hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli*; 22, 60, 26 *et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti*; 31, 29, 7; 34, 2, 11; 28, 44, 6; 29, 18, 1 *et nos queri . . . et vos audire et exsolvere rempublicam*; 29, 18, 18 *et nunc et tunc et saepe*; 30, 31, 6; 37, 54, 13; 38, 48, 11; 40, 14, 11. Variations with *-que*, *atque*, etc. occur as 5, 54, 3 *colles campique et Tiberis et adsueta oculis regio et hoc caelum*; 36, 7, 2 *cum de Euboea deque Achaeis et de Boeotia agebatur*; 36, 7, 4; 5, 51, 3 *diique et homines*; 5, 51, 10; 21, 41, 7; 21, 43, 9; 22, 14, 12; 25, 38, 7; 26, 13, 15; 29, 17, 12, 13, 20; 30, 12, 12; 36, 7, 16; 36, 17, 5; 37, 53, 12; 38, 45, 9; 41, 24, 2; 25, 6, 9 *et consuli primoribusque aliis*; 40, 9, 1 *et armati . . . accipiendi, praebendumque ferro iugulum*. Occasionally still other combinations: 5, 51, 8 *victi captique ac redempti*; 25, 6, 15 *illis arma tantum atque ordo militandi locusque*.

Polysyndeton is found in nearly all the speeches studied. Of the more extended speeches it is relatively most frequent in those by the Locrian embassy, Capitolinus, Hannibal (36, 7), L. Valerius, Cato, Cn. Manlius (38, 47-49), and Camillus. So little variety is observable in the usage as a whole that no conclusion can be drawn as to its prominence in the speeches here mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quint., IX, 3, 53 sq.: *Sed utrumque coacervatio et tantum iuncta aut dissoluta. . . . Fons quidem unus, quia acriora facit et instantiora, quae dicimus, et vim quandam prae se ferentia velut saepius erumpentis affectus*. Volkmann, p. 474: "macht durch die ausgedrückte Häufung die Rede würdevoll und grossartig, und lässt auch wohl das kleine und unbedeutende grösser und bedeutsamer erscheinen, als es in Wirklichkeit ist." Latin writers ordinarily use the Greek term, but we find *multiugum* (Carmen de Fig., RLM., 65, 52).

By way of summary the following table is given to show Livy's varying usage in the rhetorical elements studied, passing from the earlier to the later parts of his work.

Decade.	Sententiae.	Interrogation.	Irony.	Climax.	Apostrophe and Exclamation.	Antithesis.	Hyperbole.	Anaphora.	Chiasmus.	Paronomasia.	Asyndeton.	Polysyndeton.	Total.	Average each Teubner page.
I. (35 pp.) ...	10	99	22	21	25	58	5	118	57	38	146	30	629	18
III. (43 pp.) ...	14	62	8	12	13	22	9	106	52	60	180	51	589	13 +
IV. (38 pp.) ...	17	60	6	5	10	17	1	81	37	47	122	68	471	12 +
V. (25 pp.) ...	3	72	7	1	5	3	0	71	20	20	98	30	330	13 +
Total . . . . .	44	293	43	39	53	100	15	376	166	165	546	179	2019	14 +

A glance at the above table makes it clear that the occurrence of all figures is approximately one and one-half times as great in the first as it is in any one of the succeeding decades; also that with respect to seven of these figures, Irony, Climax, Apostrophe and Exclamation, Antithesis, Anaphora, Chiasmus, Asyndeton, each is more frequent in the first than in any of the later decades. In but three figures, Sententiae, Paronomasia, Polysyndeton, is the relative occurrence greater in the third or fourth than in the first decade, a reason for which in the case of the first two figures is advanced in the discussion given above. In Interrogation only is the relative frequency in the fifth equal to that of the first, while in Polysyndeton alone is it greater than that of the first.

From this variation it seems to be a reasonable conclusion that Livy's rhetorical dexterity was allowed freer scope in the first decade as a means of giving life, color, and emphasis to the remote and uncertain events with which he had to deal, resulting withal in a concitatus orationis genus well adapted to the impassioned orators whom Livy associates with Rome's early political and social struggles.

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